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Thunder on the Left: Against a background in which many on Capitol Hill complain of twisted news reporting of the Kennedy Administration, Senator John Tower (R.-Tex.) last week moved to obtain for the American public a really balanced picture of the political scene.

He made public a wire to the Associated Press urging that news agency, whose reports predominate in daily newspapers all over the country, to do a series examining the "extremist Left" to match its recent series (by its ace reporter Relman "Pat" Morin) on the "extremist Right." This is all the more important, Tower emphasized, because the "Right extremists" are "on the outside, looking in"—having no positions in the Executive—while the "extreme Left liberals [are] highly placed in key and policy-making positions within the Kennedy Administration."

The Texas Senator told the AP that "many readers of your member newspapers," after perusal of Morin's series on the "extremist Right," "looked on this series as one-sided or partial representation." As a corrective, he pointed to a series published by the Dallas *Morning News* and, especially, to a very comprehensive report in the Los Angeles *Times* by its Washington correspondent, Robert T. Hartmann, which he called "the best documented and standard reference work" on left-wing activities. (For a story on Hartmann's series, see HUMAN EVENTS, December 1, 1961.)

Tower's suggestion to the AP derives special impetus from a canvass of congressional sentiment run last week in *U.S. News & World Report* which showed that 65 per cent of all members of Congress responding consider that President Kennedy is guided in domestic matters by a left-of-center point of view. The canvass also quoted drastic criticisms of the press for promoting a favorable "image" of Kennedy. Such criticisms were made by members (unnamed) who told *U.S. News* that the President's "popularity" is "press popularity," that "only a phenomenally good press has saved JFK's image" and that the President has the "ability to get large segments of the working press to prostitute their profession for his personal aggrandizement."

Senator Tower's wire to the AP also pointed to the coverage of the recent mass converging and picketing in Washington by a so-called "student pilgrimage" of college and high school youth to protest against nuclear testing in the atmosphere. The literature of these picketers demanded what Tower called "fantastic concessions" to Russia. Elements and personalities of Americans for Democratic Action and Walter Reuther's United Auto Workers participated in this picketing coalition of some 25 identified liberal youth groups. (General press coverage did not mention these facts.)

"It is interesting to observe," remarked Tower in a press release, "that President Kennedy and other highly placed Administration voices, that have expressed themselves as concerned about the extremists on the Right, have had nothing whatever critical to say about these visiting extremists on the Left."

GOP Election Victory?: Possibility of a Republican victory in a by-election last week in the 6th Congressional District in Queens, New York City, loomed as Bob Wilson, Chairman of the GOP Congressional Campaign Committee, demanded that the Department of Justice give federal protection to the ballot boxes until an official canvass is made.

The first announcement on election day gave the decision to the Democratic candidate by 193 *votes. GOP candidate Thomas Galvin refused to concede and demanded police guard the ballot boxes. Republicans then made an unofficial canvass which showed Galvin winning by* 40 *votes.*

But whichever claim becomes the official outcome, the results reflect badly on the Democrats because they have a two and a half to one registration edge in the district and have held it since 1952. The hairline margin stands out against the background of the 1960 election, when the Democratic incumbent won by a landslide of 74,000 votes.

What upsets liberals most is that GOP candidate Galvin, who is a conservative, waged a strong campaign against the Kennedy foreign policies; he called for tough sanctions against Castro and an end of aid to Communist-dominated countries. This horse race in Queens came on the heels of a similar hairbreadth outcome in another recent by-election in Detroit—where a "Goldwater Republican" candidate came within 767 votes of taking a congressional seat in a district that had given the Democrats a 54,000 vote majority in 1960. (See HUMAN EVENTS, February 24.)

The New York *Times* commented that "with some justification the result [of the Queens race] will be construed by many members of Congress as a warning of danger ahead if they become rubber stamps for all of President Kennedy's programs."

The campaign waged by Galvin's Democratic opponent, in a district rated heavily liberal, was

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as pro-New Frontier as Galvin's was anti. The Democrat had Kennedy's endorsement as well as the full support of Mayor Wagner. Many observers are now wondering why Governor Nelson Rockefeller did not take the time to drum up some support for Galvin, an effort which might well have meant clinching a Republican victory.

Congress Upsets JFK: Both friends and foes of President Kennedy are now forced to scale down their estimates of him as a smart politician.

When both the Senate and House voted against the Administration's hurry-up plan to establish a Department of Urban Affairs with Cabinet status, Kennedy took a licking that ranks high in the defeats handed a President by a Congress with heavy majorities of his own political party in both houses.

The Senate vote of 58 to 42 was influenced to some extent by the fact that the issue was one of "discharging" a committee—thus bringing to a vote the bill creating the new department. The Senate, where committees are sacrosanct, does not do business that way. Even if this was the controlling reason why the Senate voted heavily against the President, Kennedy should have known better than to try this tactic.

Among the Senators who voted against Kennedy were such Democratic Party wheel horses as Anderson and Chavez (N.M.), Hayden (Ariz.) and Randolph (W. Va.). Other Northern Democrats who deserted him were Dodd (Conn.), Lausche (Ohio), and Bible and Cannon (Nev.).

In the House, where the proposal was rejected by an even more decisive vote (264 to 150), Kennedy was the victim of a backfire from his statement that he would name a Negro to head the proposed new department. Although they did not raise the color question, other than to deny it controlled their votes, many House members bitterly resented being placed in a political hot seat with Negro voters by the White House.

Only 13 Republicans broke party ranks on this vote. They were more than counterbalanced by the Democrats, some Northerners and Westerners as well as Southerners, who refused to follow their man in the White House.

Interesting statistics:

When this session of Congress opened, the Senate membership included 64 Democrats and 36 Republicans. The 58 to 42 vote defeat of the President is close to a reversal of that line-up.

In the House, the membership was 258 to 174. That also is close to a turn-around of the 264 to 150 vote against Kennedy.

• In addition to resenting Kennedy's offers to frighten them with the Negro vote, some House members who voted against his urban affairs proposal gave attention to some statistics placed in the *Congressional Record* by Representative William Ayres, Republican of Akron, Ohio, a large city with a substantial Negro minority.

Ayres reached a conclusion that could be important if the color question is raised in other issues before Congress:

"Very few members of Congress need fear the adverse votes of Negroes on this [urban affairs] issue. Outside of 12 Southern states there are very few congressional districts—only 57 out of 437—where Negroes equal ten per cent of the total population."

Red Spy's Value: In his syndicated column last week, Victor Riesel led off by echoing the criticisms found throughout the European press since the Powers-Abel spy exchange. Namely, that aside from the human angle the West lost a round in the Cold War by swapping a mere aerial photographer for a brilliant master spy.

Riesel pointed out that the Reds had sought Abel's return ever since his arrest by the FBI in 1957. *He stated that "there is further evidence that the spies operating out of the Soviet's UN Embassy and the one in Washington coordinated their activities through Abel." Riesel also pointed out that the returned spy outranked leading Russian officials both in the UN and Washington.*

He continued: "Without Abel the Soviets had difficulty keeping their electronic-industrial-military spy ring coordinated. One of these rings, for example, is about to be smashed in England. Abel was the inner wheel which kept the rings moving. For this and other reasons, they wanted him returned." Riesel stated that the Reds also wanted Abel back because he is an expert on West Germany and Eastern Europe.

Brown's Pink Slip: California's Governor Edmund G. "Pat" Brown apparently is trying to shield himself from the charge by vociferous right-wingers in California that he is "soft-on-communism." This is the reason many California legislators believe that Dr. Buell G. Gallagher (Brown's appointee last April as the first chancellor of the State's new college system) has recently handed in his resignation to return to his old post at City College in New York.

Assemblyman Bruce Allen (R.-San Jose) charged that the "facts behind the separation of Chancellor Buell G. Gallagher from the California State College system have been withheld from the public." The real reason, according to Allen, is that the chancellor had laid down no policy "to exclude Communist activity from the campuses." This lack of policy has been under severe attack and has caused the state's Un-American Activities Committee to warn of increased Red activities on campuses.

HUMAN EVENTS pointed out Gallagher's soft stance on Communism last August 18. Gallagher replied to these and other charges made by groups in California in the October 1, 1961, Los Angeles *Times*. In his reply, he not only admitted the charges, but still defended his calling the investigation of Alger Hiss a "red herring."

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Atomic Testing: Military leaders are viewing with particular alarm President Kennedy's delay in announcing when the government will begin atmospheric testing. With the leader of the British Labour Party, Hugh Gaitskell, giving tentative okay to the President last week to take such a step, it is felt that Kennedy no longer has any reason to postpone this important decision.

A solid phalanx of advisers has urged an immediate go-ahead, feeling such testing is imperative for national security. This group includes Secretary of State Dean Rusk, Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, the Atomic Energy Commission, the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the congressional Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

Analyses of the Soviet Union's series of recent tests show the Russians have probably passed the United States in developing light-weight nuclear warheads—a crucial aspect of the arms race. As a result of these tests, it is also believed the Soviets may now be able to improve their weapons at a faster rate than the US.

Yet in the face of all this the President continues to hedge, his thinking shaped by such "softs" as his chief scientific adviser, Jerome B. Wiesner. But, as one general put it, Kennedy has all the necessary facts to call for immediate resumption—"he and he alone is the chief person who is holding the tests back."

Thurmond on "Executive Fifth": Senator J. Strom Thurmond (D.-S.C.) last week scored President Kennedy for resorting to "the Executive Fifth Amendment" to "shield the no-win, defeatist policies the State Department has had in effect for some years."

Thurmond noted that Kennedy had instructed Defense Secretary Robert McNamara not to order his or State's personnel to reveal the names of speech censors on the grounds that he did not want these individuals "harassed." "They both know," the Carolinian continued, "that no witness has been or would be harassed. In fact, as an article in the Washington *Daily News* pointed out, if they are truly interested in their military censors rather than hiding policy, they could get their military censors off the hook if they would permit them to testify."

Thurmond remarked that the Executive privilege had been invoked many times in the past to "cover up cases of maladministration, scandals and security risks." As HUMAN EVENTS pointed out February 17, if Congress had relied on the assurances given by the Harding Administration, the Teapot Dome scandal would never have been uncovered.

Foreign Aid: The President's fight for further appropriations for his Alliance for Progress program ran into some steep, stiff trouble last week. Representative Otto E. Passman (D.-La.), member of the House Appropriations Committee and chairman of its subcommittee on foreign aid, blasted the $3 billion, four-year aid plan as "asinine." His vitriolic remark was prompted by Teodoro Moscoso, the US director of this program, who recently said the Administration was giving out aid to Latin countries even though they had not enacted any fiscal reforms, a condition for aid required by US law.

Another, even more severe, jolt to the President's program was delivered by left-leaning Brazil, now a chief target of the Communists. Leonel Brizola, governor of the Brazilian state of Rio Grande do Sul, expropriated a $6 million subsidiary of the respected International Telephone & Telegraph Company of New York, offering to repay the company six cents on the dollar.

The State Department sent a flimsily worded note to Brazil denouncing the action, but then said it acknowledged Brazil's right to "expropriate property belonging to nationals of other countries" —hardly a policy designed to foster US private investments in Latin America.

Many congressmen are also disturbed that the White House, as revealed in this month's *Fortune* magazine, pushed for Raul Prebisch, an Argentinean, to "coordinate" a committee of nine experts to advise Latin countries on setting up plans to receive American aid. Prebisch has given his blessings to the Soviet economic system, rapid industrialization and "structural inflation"—a socialist hodgepodge which he thinks should be used in Latin America and supported by large doses of US foreign aid.

The above events have proved to many congressmen they were more than right last year when they refused to give the Administration the power to bypass Congress and dish out long-term foreign aid.

The Big Double Cross: That is what diplomats in Bonn and Paris fear as a result of President Kennedy's statement week before last that there might be a summit meeting, possibly in June, to deal with disarmament. De Gaulle immediately called a hasty cabinet meeting and got in touch with Adenauer to arrange the hurry-up meeting of the two leaders in Baden-Baden. So report diplomatic circles in the capitals of France and Germany.

These circles also state positively that the huddle between Adenauer and de Gaulle was not (as pictured in the Anglo-American press) a display of friction between the two but a "completely harmonious" colloquy. It was de Gaulle who wanted it and it was de Gaulle who volunteered that he might—despite his objection to summits—

THOMAS F. ELLIS, lawyer, Raleigh, North Carolina: "I feel that HUMAN EVENTS is one of the finest publications of its kind. I read it each week to bolster my beliefs which get pounded in the opposite direction by our newspapers seven days a week."

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attend the summit early in the summer, which JFK was talking about, solely to prevent West Germany from being sold down the river by Macmillan and Kennedy—"the Anglo-Saxons" as *Le Grand Charles* calls them.

Finally, Adenauer and he agreed that they weren't sure they would let Britain join the Common Market, at least until Macmillan cooperated closely with them on political matters, such as summits and disarmament.

Nice to Neutralism: In recent weeks, about $80 million in Italian funds fled the homeland and took refuge in Switzerland, Germany and Belgium —a fact that has prompted Diplomatic Row to say this represents the result of the Kennedy "let's be nice to neutralism" policy in Italy. As first reported in HUMAN EVENTS on December 15, and again on February 17, US diplomats have been influencing the Christian Democratic government in Italy to turn that center party into a left-of-center coalition, including the "neutralist," fellow-traveling Socialists, led by Pietro Nenni.

From Rome it is reported that conservative and center politicians have personally reproached the American ambassador with remarks like "Why did you not try to stop this disaster?"

Averell Harriman and other diplomatic personalities of the Kennedy regime have been accused by Italian newspapers of fostering this changeover to a left-of-center government in Rome and a "neutralist" policy for Italy.

Innocence Abroad: Capitol Hill observers are appalled that the Administration has sent the State Department's head of the Policy Planning Council, Walt Whitman Rostow, to Paris to line up our allies in cutting off trade with Cuba. Rostow, say these observers, is the exact embodiment of the very policies which our allies despise, and it is doubtful they will cooperate fully with him. (For Rostow's views, see HUMAN EVENTS, January 6.)

Dispatching Rostow has also raised the question here at home as to just how serious the Administration is in wanting to do something about Cuba. Rostow took a softer position against Cuba at Punta del Este than Rusk. He is, then, hardly the one to "get tough" with our allies about dealings with Castro. The State Department, moreover, insists that Rostow is only trying to stop our allies from shipping "war and strategic" materials to Cuba, not other goods. However, the Soviet bloc, not our European allies, has been Castro's chief friend on this score. Since Rusk has announced the US will not blockade Cuba, these shipments from bloc countries will still be made to bolster Castro's military might.

Capitol Camera: In reply to official Democratic slurs that the astronaut achievement had been delayed by slow work under the GOP Administration, old hands on Capitol Hill stress the fact that this magnificent accomplishment by Lieutenant Colonel John Glenn emerged from careful and sound work over the past nine years. Three years ago, under Ike, the astronaut team was set up; development of the Atlas missile was put into high gear nine years ago under Ike, etc. The delay in reaching the astronaut feat was the foot-dragging under Truman.

• *Last week, Republican G. Fred Worsham won a special election for the South Carolina General Assembly by a 5 to 3 margin. Worsham becomes the second GOP standard-bearer to sit in the South Carolina legislature since Reconstruction, joining Charles E. Boineau, who was elected last August.*

• Representative Bruce Alger (R.-Tex.) last week introduced a resolution calling for an end to training military personnel from Communist countries in the United States. The resolution would also prohibit US military aid to any Red-dominated country.

• *In recent testimony before the congressional Joint Economic Committee, Labor Secretary Arthur Goldberg stated that a million new jobs were filled last year. But committee member William B. Widnall (R.-N. J.) pointed out that 25 per cent of the jobs Goldberg referred to were state and municipal jobs, that 100,000 people had been added to the federal payroll and that 300,000 had been called to the armed forces. "Only about 30 to 35 per cent of the jobs Goldberg referred to involved free enterprise, so his recovery figures are indeed fictitious," Widnall told* HUMAN EVENTS.

• Governor Nelson Rockefeller receives a rare bouquet from conservatives for his courage in opposing a $100 million election-year bonus to New York State's 500,000 veterans of the Korean War years. Rocky called the bonus a boondoggle in front of 300 American Legion officials.

• *Former Secretary of State Dean Acheson last week told a school audience that we cannot rely on the UN as the principal means of peace and that he never expected much results from the UN's attempts to resolve world crises. "The balance of power is the practical answer," he said.*

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The Urban Renewal Fallacy

By JOHN C. SPARKS

Reprinted from the October, 1961, The Freeman

WHEN A WOMAN picks up her shopping bag and heads for her favorite shopping area, she sets into motion an integral part of a very technical economic machine, the *free market place.* For the next hour or two she will make numerous economic decisions. She will select the stores in which she will shop; she will select the products she will buy; she will show preference for one brand over another. It is quite possible that an item she seeks will not be quite to her satisfaction, and she will not buy.

One can speculate as to the many factors that influence her decisions. If she has no car, she will probably pick stores accessible by public transportation. Ease of access, walking distance, public transportation and automobile traffic routes are important factors to any shopper. Other considerations include comparative prices, her budget, attractiveness of the store and products, the quality of service, friendliness of clerks and a host of other points, some of which may be more aptly classified as whims.

Nevertheless, each selection she makes, to buy or not to buy, is an economic decision affecting manufacturers, distributors, retailers, advertisers, realtors—the list of businesses is almost endless.

Persons who are free to do so daily make innumerable separate decisions involving exchanges of wealth. These exchanges we describe as the operation of the free market place.

Their effect on the progress of mankind is tremendous. Selectivity has revealed a preference for the electric vacuum sweeper to the old hand-push carpet sweeper; selectivity has outmoded the buggy whip: it has relegated the candle to a decoration rather than its former use as a chief method of lighting. Selectivity results in a continuing upward pressure toward improved values of quality and service, unless artificially prevented or restricted by force of government.

AS CONSUMERS, we benefit from the results of selectivity; it's fun to buy an automatic washer rather than the old washboard and tub. It's a pleasure to stop at a convenient and luxurious roadside motel after a hot day of driving rather than battle downtown traffic trying to find a hotel.

Through such selectivity, those who provide the more desirable products and services are rewarded. But the manufacturers of the carpet sweepers, buggy whips, candles, washboards and the owners of downtown hotels may not fully share the delight of the consumers because their own businesses may fail or be adversely affected by these changes.

The product or service popular 20 years ago may no longer be in demand today. All kinds of property face the hazard of changed values in the eyes of the buying public. Investors frequently spread their investments to hedge against those which may decline in value.

An owner of a new home in an expanding suburb may well wonder about the value of his investment 30 years later. Owners of commercial real estate are constantly seeking information to enable them to make decisions consistent with the movement of real estate values up and down. A modern commercial building located strategically will normally command a higher rental than an older building in a less strategic location, although an ultramodern building located poorly may command less rent than an older building with a good location.

Considerations are many in the market place and—if not influenced by governmental intervention—will very accurately reflect the sum total of the economic decisions of everyone.

How To Retard Progress

Unfortunately for mankind, however, intervention by government is brought into play all too frequently. The results range from the humorous to the tragic, from the awkward to the grotesque—and in every instance progress is pushed backward. Since every interventionist action is based upon enforcement of the unnatural, it is not surprising that the consequences are undesirable.

For example, governmental price support of a farm product, intended to prevent the price from falling when the supply is abundant, will bring about a greater supply than ever before—just the opposite of the intent. On the other hand, a ceiling price intended to enable more people to buy a certain product at a lower price will drive that product out of production—and fewer, rather than more, will have the opportunity to buy it.

Skilled tradesmen, encountering stiffened competition, will frequently use government to license (and restrict) entry of newcomers into their field. But if wages rise in that field, consumers and other less restricted enterprisers often find a way to eliminate or by-pass the licensed trade—and the licensed and "protected" tradesmen are threatened by obsolescence, rather than achieving greater security.

Every interventionist or socialistic law works that way: rent control, price and wage controls, subsidies to farmers or industries—name it, and analyze it, and find the same bizarre and unpleasant results.

A NEW KIND of socialistic innovation has come into being within recent years called "urban renewal," which is now threatening to lull local governments and civic-minded citizens into embracing economic fallacy and corruption rather than standing for natural economic laws and moral principles.

The Federal laws on urban renewal enable a city government to seize private homes and private business properties for the purpose of fulfilling the public good as determined by

Mr. Sparks, a businessman, was serving as president of the Canton, Ohio, Chamber of Commerce when this article was written.

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the political planners. Urban renewal is not necessarily slum clearance although parts of the planning program may include removal of some "blighted" residential areas. Urban renewal is the redesign of a whole section of a city by its planners (aided with ideas and finances from Washington), including removal of buildings not in harmony with the master plan.

Following the acceptance of the plan by the local and Federal politicians, private property is acquired through the use of eminent domain, and either rebuilt or torn down. The condition of the property does not determine whether or not it can be razed. Perfectly good buildings in compliance with sanitation and safety requirements may be condemned and removed if the property does not fit into the scheme of the planners.

After the land is cleared, it is sold to private investors who agree to use it according to the specifications of the master plan.[1] The Federal government picks up from two-thirds to three-fourths of the difference in the cost of buying the properties and the ultimate receipts from the sale of the land. This expense, borne partially by the local community (25 per cent to 33 1/3 per cent) and the balance by the Federal government, represents the bulk of the extremely wasteful cost of the Federal urban renewal program.

Selectivity Denied

This program should be rejected by every high-principled citizen of each city of our country on the basis that it is morally wrong.

Unfortunately, the temptation to avail oneself of the funds of others, behind the mask of legal respectability, has been too strong for many communities to resist. Thus, the urban-renewal Federal grant scheme is growing rapidly in popularity.

Like other Federal grants-in-aid schemes, it undermines self-reliance, it corrupts normally-sound individualistic champions of freedom, it encourages financial bankruptcy, it opens local communities to Federal control, and it accomplishes all of these undesirable results through bribery of the local citizen with his own money. The Federal urban renewal device has the further claim to infamy in that its supporters ignore completely the natural law of economics—*the selectivity of the market place!*

Each person selects certain things in preference to other things —including where to live, where to work, where to attend church, where to send children to school, and where to shop. At one time most families chose to live in the city. Undoubtedly, they were influenced by the lack of adequate private transportation and time required to travel to the city from the neighboring countryside or village. However, recent population figures reveal what we all have observed to be true: the city dwellers have been rapidly emigrating to the suburbs and countryside.

More people now prefer to live outside the city—more open space, improved automobiles, whatever the reasons—and they individually have made the choice to do so. This is a choice having many economic effects on many segments of the lives and businesses of those left behind in the downtown section of the city.

[1] A Supreme Court decision of November, 1954, declared constitutional the procedure of government condemning private property for other than public use.

DOWNTOWN RETAIL STORES find they are no longer selected as "the places" to shop by as many people as before, and it's not too difficult to understand why this change in preference has occurred. Attractive modern shopping centers in the outlying areas of the city are more easily accessible to the suburbanite. Many are beautifully designed and landscaped. Promotions by shopping center merchants often cause shopping to take on a gala festive air. *Parking is plentiful,* and, most importantly, provided and paid for by the private owners of these centers. Primarily due to location, these private-enterprising merchants are more attractive to the consumer than their downtown counterparts.

As almost every successful private businessman can attest, success in business comes from efficiently providing a product or service and making it available where it attracts a sufficient number of customers to bring about a profit. The successful retailer must cause customers to select his place of business. If his location renders his store second choice or worse in the customer's evaluation, when he was once first, then he must recognize that economic selection has caused him to lose his "front-running" position just as surely as buggies, high-button shoes, washboards and candles also have lost position.

This does not mean that the downtown merchant must surrender without a struggle; he may adjust, as did those producers of years ago who intelligently changed their manufacturing equipment from high-button shoes to the new styles in demand by the "fickle" public.

In recent years, not all cotton textile manufacturers stood by and cried while producers of synthetic fibers made huge inroads on their sales volumes. Those who intelligently met the challenge of the ever-changing market place developed new cotton-fiber treatments to compete in the wash-and-wear merchandise field.

"The market makes people rich or poor, determines who shall run the big plants and who shall scrub the floors, fixes how many people shall work in the copper mines and how many in the symphony orchestras. None of these decisions are made once and for all; they are revocable every day. The selective process never stops. It goes on adjusting the social apparatus of production to the changes in demand and supply. It reviews again and again its previous decisions and forces everybody to submit to a new examination of his case. There is no security and no such thing as a right to preserve any position acquired in the past."[2]

CONSUMERS are coldly logical in their selection of where to shop to fit their convenience and wants, and the entrepreneur who sees the opportunity and fills the demand wins the day. But no business "victory" is forever—even for downtown merchants.

The decision cannot be ignored—the consumer has already made his choice today just as he made a different choice yesterday—and the outlying and suburban merchants are relegating the old conventional congested downtown shopping district into second place. Door-to-door bakery routes have encountered the same stiff competition from shopping centers. It is surprising that no one has proposed Federal aid to bakery routes!

[2] Ludwig von Mises, *Human Action,* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1949, p. 308.

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It is not the purpose of this article to recommend solutions to the downtown property owners. Instead, it is to call attention to the fact that a new mode of suburban and outlying multi-residential and shopping-area living has come into its own. The consumer has spoken. Burying one's head in the sand does not change the situation, and attempts to "bring back" either a downtown commercial or residential area by artificial aid rather than natural selection may prove quite costly, especially to owners of downtown property.

If the possibilities of return for risk taking are good, investment funds will be available from those who are willing to take a chance. On the other hand, it is unlikely that voluntary investments in an uneconomical situation will be readily forthcoming.

Those who seek Federal urban-renewal aid undoubtedly recognize that voluntary investment will not be available for such downtown renewal. And, of course, no merchants are being restrained from remodeling or relocating, nor are they prevented from providing customer parking facilities. They are willing, however, to take advantage of improper, but legal, means to force persons who do not choose to invest, *to contribute without recourse* in order to bail out the skidding downtown businesses.

Among those persons forced to contribute via the tax route to downtown redevelopment are the very outlying and suburban merchants who are gaining first place in the consumer's heart. Furthermore, the consumer himself, having elected to patronize the suburban merchant, must also contribute via taxes to the downtown merchant and help subsidize him because that merchant, in effect, has continued to market in a "high-button shoes" manner and location.

IT IS TEMPTING to downtown owners to proclaim noble objectives to justify their request for Federal aid. They wish to preserve the so-called "core" of the city. They hope to increase tax values of the "main" business section and surrounding area as promised by the planners. They become loquacious on behalf of civic pride. Little or no mention is made of the fact that the chief objective in the minds of the downtown owners and merchants is a *subsidy from funds taken from others.*

The Consumer Still Rules

When buggy whips were on the decline as the automobile industry began to grow, the innovation of pearl handles on buggy whips (even if subsidized by government) would have done nothing to rescue the industry headed for obsolescence by the choices being registered in the market place. Neither will subsidized rejuvenation of downtown commercial and business property change the choice of the consumer. Nor will apartments, town houses, and other residential buildings constructed on land formerly occupied by slums or dilapidated apartments change the minds of those who prefer to live "farther out."

Experience has already shown that many of the investors in new residential apartments erected on urban-renewal land are regretting the day they ignored the decision of the market place and risked their savings on such uneconomical endeavors.

In a series of articles for the Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, Eugene Segal reported on residential apartments built there in 1957, and since, under the Federal urban renewal program:

"The occupancy rate is too low for the projects to pay their own way. Most of them are delinquent in mortgage or tax payments. The owners are losing money. The projects have nothing that will persuade investors to build more. These are details you would not want showing when you are promoting urban renewal."

The author went on to quote one of the owners, "We don't spend enough on maintenance. We can't because the money is not coming in. If we don't spend more, this will become a slum again."[3]

Futhermore, the promise of increased tax values on the "renewed" land is almost certainly not *an attraction to potential investors.*

City officials in Wink, Texas, are hoping businessmen in its downtown area will use the money (Federal funds) they receive to put up new stores in place of those which will be torn down. It is recognized, however, that such hope will not likely become reality for "a dozen main street buildings are ramshackle frame structures already deserted by their owners *for lack of business.*" In this case the difficulty of changing economic selectivity stems from declining reserves of oil in the vicinity. At one time, Wink had more than 12 times its population today. Then it was a boom town.

There are many who make wrong decisions every day, and if such decisions are made by individuals with their own funds and property, no general harm is done. But when civic leaders and city officials combine to encourage waste of the funds of others through the Federal urban renewal program, harm is heaped upon all, including the subsidized merchants and the hopeful real estate developers. The subsidized merchants are given a palliative that will lull them into false security. The unsuspecting developers will flirt with business failure as people reconfirm their preferences to reside somewhere other than downtown or near the "heart of the city."

Communities that ignore the verdict of the free market place, and attempt to repeal the individual decisions and judgment of consumers and investors, are bound to reap ill results. No benefit will derive from embracing the fallacy of political urban renewal.

[3] Eugene Segal, "Housing Renewal Crisis," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, April 30, May 1 and 2, 1961.

[4] "Small Towns Scramble To Get Slum Removal Aid from Uncle Sam, *Wall Street Journal*, July 3, 1961 (Emphasis added).

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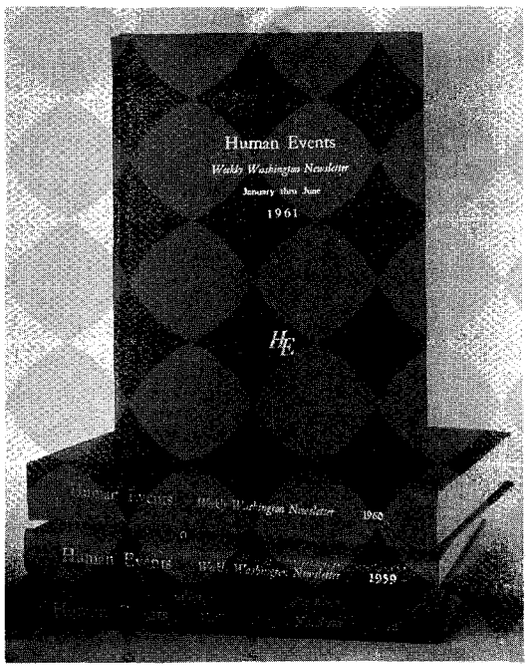

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HUMAN EVENTS
COMMENTARY

Vol. XIX, No. 9—Section III

March 3, 1962

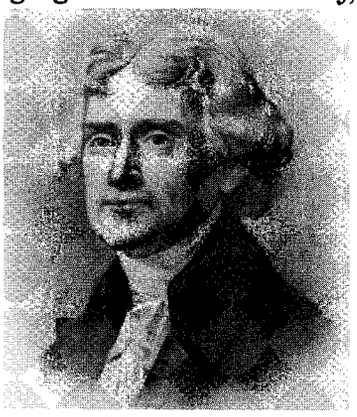
Government, even in its best state, is but a necessary evil; in its worst state, an intolerable one.

—Thomas Paine

Greatest 'Right-Wing Extremist'

By Robert H. McGimsey in the Phoenix [Ariz.] Gazette

The United States grew and prospered for about 150 years when along came a few politicians who began changing it from a democracy, owned and operated by the people, to a welfare state, owned and operated by willful men in Washington, D. C. These men are political deviates who have much to gain from their plans. In a very real sense they are trying to quietly overthrow constitutional government and put in its place a centralized bureaucracy which they will operate as they think best.



JEFFERSON

These willful men insist on silencing all opposition. Anyone who speaks out against their radical schemes and policies is called a "right-wing extremist." Seldom have the freedom-loving people in this country been so severely tongue-lashed by their President as recently when he called them "right-wing extremists" merely because they resist present attempts to take away their rights and express their concern over the steady advances of communism.

The New Frontier can be regarded as a movement of secession from the constitutional government of the Union. It attempts to abrogate much of that contract entered into in good faith between the states, and set up a different sort of government in place of the one agreed to by them. The following words of Thomas Jefferson sound as though he were talking today:

> "I see . . . with deepest affliction, the rapid strides with which the Federal branch of our government is advancing toward the usurpation of all the rights reserved to the states, and the consolidation in itself of all powers, foreign and domestic, and that, too, by constructions which, if legitimate, leave no limits to their power. Take together the decisions of the Federal court, the doctrines of the President, and the misconstructions of the constitutional compact acted on by the legislature of the Federal branch, and it is but too evident that the three ruling branches of that department are in combination to strip their colleagues, the state authorities, of the powers reserved by them, and to exercise themselves all functions foreign and domestic . . . "

If Thomas Jefferson were living now, he would doubtless be looked upon by some as the greatest "right-wing extremist" of all.

WHOA, PAUL REVERE

PIPE DOWN! YOU TRYING TO WAKE UP EVERYBODY?
STATE DEPT.
MILITARY LEADERS WARNING OF RED THREAT
© 1962 by The Chicago Tribune
HOLLAND

The professed internationalist usually sneers at nationalism, at patriotism, at what we call "Americanism." He bids us forswear our love of country in the name of love of the world at large. We nationalists answer that he has begun at the wrong end; we say that as the world now is, it is only the man who ardently loves his country first who in actual practice can help any other country at all.

—Theodore Roosevelt

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K's Big Threat

Scandinavians Don't Scare

From the New York Daily News

A FAVORITE psychological warfare weapon of N. S. Khrushchev's—but one which usually backfires—is the Big Threat.

His "We will bury you," bawled a few years ago at some Americans visiting in Moscow, produced one of these backfires.

That crack frightened a few Nervous Nellies in this country. But the reaction of the great majority of us was: "Oh, yeah?"—plus renewed resolve never to let the Red Hitler enslave us.

When the British and French attacked Egypt in 1956, over G. A. Nasser's grab of the Suez Canal, Khrushchev threatened to hit London and Paris with hydrogen bombs. He has been claiming credit off and on ever since for having stopped the onslaught.

The fact is that Britain and France pulled back because the US government jerked the rug of its approval out from under them. They knew, and Khrushchev knew, that any H-bomb attack on them by Russia would bring instant retaliation from the United States.

But the way Khrushchev's Big Threat tactic works in reverse is perhaps best illustrated by his experiences in trying to scare the Scandinavians into terrified neutrality and complete disarmament.

FINLAND, with its long Russian border and following two defeats during World War II by its monster-bully neighbor, pretty much has to take orders from the Kremlin.

Yet, probably because the Kremlin remembers all too well what tigerish fighters the Finns can be, Finland still keeps its democratic form of government. In the February 4-5, 1962, election, the voters gave President Urho K. Kekkonen's Agrarian party the biggest single representation in Parliament and cut Communist representation.

As for Denmark, Norway and Sweden, the Kremlin has been trying ever since World War II (ended 1945) to terrorize them out of their Western friendships and/or alliances, and has gotten exactly nowhere.

Back in 1952, Denmark shrugged off a Kremlin warning against letting US bases be set up on Danish soil.

In late 1961, Khrushchev emitted some horrendous remarks about the "counter-measures" he would have to take if Denmark consented to a North Atlantic Treaty Organization proposal to establish a joint West German-Danish military command in the Baltic Sea. Denmark brushed off Khrushchev with a brisk, brusque snub.

Soviet relations with Sweden, the biggest of the

Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden: "He may have a bad halitosis but we are stuck near him."
USSR THREATS
"Those are valiant souls that dare breakfast on the lip of a bear."
Apologies to William Shakespeare

Scandinavian nations and a determined neutral in the best sense of the word, have been highly unsatisfactory from Khrushchev's point of view.

He has tried his Big Threat pitch on Sweden repeatedly. All that has happened has been that Sweden has gone on building a big army and a powerful air force, plus underground fortifications and bomb shelters—and has even taken to thinking of joining NATO.

Back in 1957 (March 26), the Kremlin let fly a blustering note about the "dreadful danger" the Norwegians were incurring by letting NATO build bases on their territory. Norway's then Premier, Einar Gerhardsen, told the Kremlin to mind its own business.

THUS THE SCANDINAVIANS have called the Red bluff down the years. Japan has done the same. So have Italy, Turkey and Iran.

True, all these nations are confident, up to now, that the United States will cut loose its H-bombs on Russia the moment Russia attacks any of them.

That confidence accounts for part of their courage in the face of Red bluff and bluster, but not for all of it.

These nations have guts and backbone. As long as the free world keeps those qualities, plus plenty of arms, its chances of outriding all Kremlin threats look excellent.

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Big Labor Dooms Bracero Program

By Congressman O. C. Fisher (D.-Texas)

THE BRACERO PROGRAM under which Mexican agricultural workers are contracted to work on farms and ranches, in those areas where there is a shortage of domestic workers, seems to be doomed. The present Labor Department, which administers the program, has shown special hostility to this method of obtaining needed farm workers.

In recent weeks I have received scores of letters from constituents who complain that they simply cannot hire a local worker to do ranch or farm work and are unable to obtain Mexican workers due to the Labor Department's policies.

That Department has now decreed that no agricultural worker can be contracted for longer than 180 days out of the year. And Secretary Goldberg has ruled that since no part of ranch work is "seasonal," and since ranch workers require special skills, they do not meet the Department's standards and are ineligible as a general rule.

In a recent letter to me, Goldberg suggested that the Federal government might open some schools in the Southwest to train local unemployed how to do ranch work, and thereby in one fell swoop solve the labor shortages that have plagued the ranchers for years! In reply I suggested he pick up the telephone and check with the employment offices and the county agents and find out how many unemployed there are in my district who are able and willing to go out and do ranch work. I told him the schooling idea would be a foolish waste of money; that the only way to learn ranch work is to work on a ranch.

A number of us who represent labor-shortage areas have conferred with Labor Department officials, and have tried to convince them with facts and figures that there is a shortage; that hiring braceros (Mexican agricultural workers) in those shortage areas could not adversely affect domestic workers.

Under Federal law no braceros are allowed to be contracted in any county unless the Secretary of Labor certifies that there is a labor-shortage in that county.

Probably our mounting trouble stems from the fact that the program is virtually administered by the AFL-CIO, which has always opposed any bracero program. Jerry Holleman, former President of AFL-CIO in Texas, is now Assistant Secretary of Labor in charge of the program, and Goldberg until 1961 was general counsel of the AFL-CIO.

A Wiser Man . . .

(From Irene Corbally Kuhn's Column, "Straight Talk")

At one time I was an ardent and vociferous opponent of right-to-work. Oh, yes. Today, like many workers, union men, I am a sadder and wiser man anent right-to-work. It has been my sad discovery that I do not possess the right-to-work in a union shop as long as I am in opposition to a powerful union on some fundamental questions. Because of fear of trouble or retaliation (from a union) most employers would not hire me. In fact I doubt if any employer would who has a union shop in his plant. And this holds true not only for me, but for every union man who has opposed his union in any way. We can seek employment only in non-union shops. We should have right-to-work laws in every state . . . the sooner the better. As for the "agency shop" it should be kicked to perdition . . .

—JOHN M. MOSBERGER
2909 Seymour Avenue,
Cleveland 13, Ohio

The Camel Wants the Whole Tent

Slaton, Texas, officials were told by an official of the US Department of Labor in early December that unless the community opens its swimming pool to any and all persons, 31 farmers living *near* the city will no longer be able to contract for braceros (Mexican farm laborers).

"Mexican braceros come up here to work, not for luxuries," one farmer told the Lubbock, Texas, *Avalanche-Journal.* The Mayor of Slaton was quoted as saying no Mexican national, insofar as he knew, has ever attempted to use the pool. The newspaper said citizens reacted by charging "economic blackmail" on the part of the Federal government.

Perplexing to local officials and citizens alike was the fact that the braceros worked outside the city—for farmers who did not live in the city and who are not responsible for the city's policies regarding operation of the pool.

"Whenever the Federal government's nose is permitted to be stuck under the tent, it's just a forerunner of the whole camel's shoving in and taking over," commented the *Avalanche-Journal.*

"This is an example of ruthless bureaucracy in action . . . .

"Those who may have been wondering if, perhaps, there should be Federal aid to education —or other legislation permissive to Washington's taking the whip hand in any other area—will do well to ponder the Labor Department's performance in Slaton," the *Avalanche-Journal* editorial concluded.

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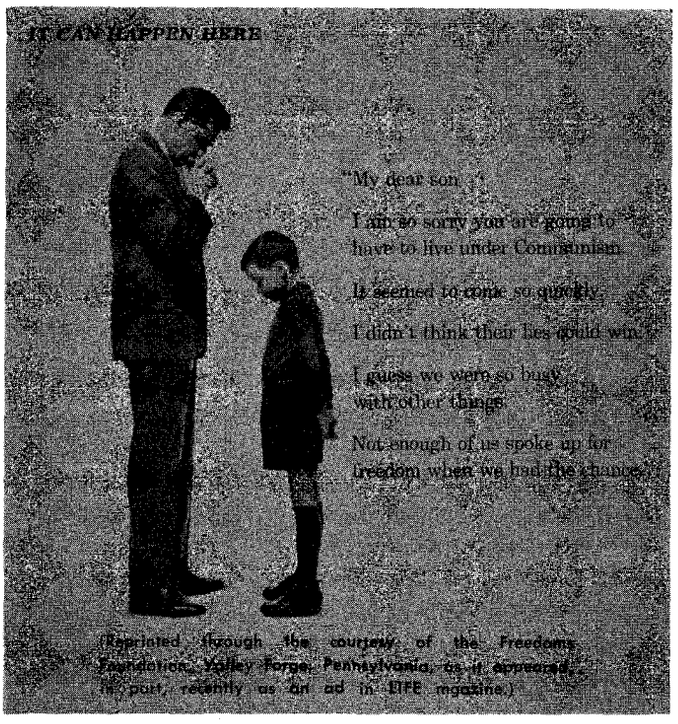
IT CAN HAPPEN HERE
"My dear son,
I am so sorry you are going to have to live under Communism.
It seemed to come so quickly.
I didn't think they could win.
I guess we were so busy with other things.
Not enough of us spoke up for freedom when we had the chance."

(Reprinted through the courtesy of the Freedoms Foundation, Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, as it appeared, in part, recently as an ad in LIFE magazine.)

Some Switch!

From the Washington Daily News

In May, the Department of Agriculture will celebrate its 100th anniversary.

When it was created, President Lincoln said its purpose was to "acquire and diffuse" information. When President Cleveland began his second term, 31 years later, he appointed J. Sterling Morton of Nebraska to be Secretary of Agriculture.

Remembering this, the Nebraska City *News-Press* recently made this comment:

"A notable Secretary of Agriculture came from Nebraska City. J. Sterling Morton stopped the free distribution of garden seeds, a petty vote-catching device, because they were useless and it wasn't the duty of Uncle Sam to distribute them in the first place. What a switch from today!

"In the second place, Mr. Morton turned back into the Treasury the unspent appropriation of his office. Today he would be locked up in an institution, a man entirely unsafe to have around."

Hancock's Reply

From Your America by Clark Kinnaird

When John Hancock, the first signer of the Declaration of Independence, was asked by George Washington whether Boston should be bombarded, Hancock replied:

"Nearly all the property I have in the world is in houses and other real estate in Boston; but if the expulsion of the British army require their being burnt to ashes, issue the order for that purpose immediately."

Birth of the ADA

ADA (Americans for Democratic Action) got its start with a full-page New York *Times* ad, May 6, 1947, announcing that an "ADA ANTI-INFLATION RALLY" would be held on May 22 of that year. Though professing anti-inflation, the ad also described ADA's Big Spend-Welfare objectives. By any sound calculation, if the entire ADA program had by this time become law, the nondefense portion of the Federal budget would today be $20 billion to $30 billion more than it is.

The Political Power Grab

"The present Administration is shamelessly pursuing a naked grab for political power which will, in time, bring every phase of our national life under Federal control unless it is stopped soon." This is the conclusion of Congressman H. R. Gross (R.-Iowa), the guest on this week's Congressional Interview. Mr. Gross points out: "By their fiscal policies, arbitrary commitments, reorganization plans and deliberate increases in the size of government, the power-hungry are making every effort to dominate the American people and to destroy the check-and-balance system ordained in the Constitution of the United States." This fearless and courageous discussion is the 8th in the 1962 series of HUMAN EVENTS Congressional Interview. Invite your neighborhood to hear this one.

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5. Representative John H. Rousselot (R.-Calif.)
6. Newburgh, New York, City Manager Joseph McD. Mitchell
7. Senator John G. Tower (R.-Texas)

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A Tale of Two Spies

By WALTER TROHAN

THIS IS THE TALE of two spies, separated not only by almost two centuries but by almost limitless standards of patriotism.

The first spy was Nathan Hale, a 21-year-old schoolmaster who responded to George Washington's call for information about the strength and designs of General William Howe in New York City. Hale volunteered for the dangerous enterprise. When a friend, Captain William Hull, sought to dissuade him, Hale said:

"I wish to be useful, and every kind of service necessary to the public good becomes honorable when necessary."

On the night of September 21, 1776, he was captured in sight of his own picket lines. The belief at the time was that he had been betrayed by his Tory cousin, Samuel Hale. Sketches and military information were found on his person.

On his arrest, he at once declared his name and his rank as a captain in the American army and acknowledged his mission was to spy. He gave no additional information. He was hanged the next day, a bright Sunday morning.

"I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country" were his last words and they have inspired generations with pride.

THE SECOND SPY is Francis Gary Powers, a 32-year-old flyer who undertook a spying mission for the Central Intelligence Agency when he was offered $2,500 a month. Powers enlisted in the Air Force as a private in 1950, after his graduation from Milligan College in Johnson City, Tennessee.

He was discharged so that he could attend a civilian flying school in Greenville, Mississippi. He returned to the Air Force with a second lieutenant's commission. In 1956 he was mustered out of the Air Force. He tried for a commercial pilot's license, but was considered too old when his term was up. He was approached by CIA and offered $2,500 a month to pilot the U-2 reconnaissance plane.

"I felt very lucky to get such a job," he testified.

On May 1, 1960, Powers was captured after his plane was brought down by a Russian rocket or when it developed engine trouble, which forced him to fly far below the scheduled 68,000 feet. He pleaded guilty of espionage. He did not blow up his plane, nor did he use a poisoned needle.

"I was not asked whether I wanted to take the flight," Powers testified at his Moscow trial. "There were two of us preparing for the flight and I did not know which one of us would go.

NATHAN HALE

POWERS

"No, I could not refuse. It was an order. I would have been considered a coward by my associates and it would also have meant an unsuccessful completion of my contract."

Powers testified that he "didn't like" what he was doing. He said he was not interested in Russia nor in the political life of his own country. He said:

"I did not take part in political life [in the United States] nor did I belong to any political party. I have not even voted."

Powers said that if he were to be returned to the United States he could be tried for the talking he did. His contract provided that he could be sentenced to as much as 10 years for talking on capture. However, officials here said there was no intention of trying him if returned. They said, further, he had orders to tell the Reds all.

By way of contrast with Hale's last words, Powers pleaded for leniency from his Communist captors, saying that he was no more than a pilot and had merely turned on photographic equipment as ordered. He said no secret information had ever reached its destination through his efforts. The last words of his plea were:

"I plead with the court to judge me not as an enemy, but as a human being who is not a personal enemy of the Russian people, who never had any charges brought against him in any court and who is deeply repentent and profoundly sorry for what he's done. Thank you."

It's safe to say Hale's words and inspiration will live longer.

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Survey Shows

Bias in Half the Clubs

From the New York World-Telegram and Sun

WITH THE ISSUE of racial and religious bias by private groups suddenly a red hot political potato, a *World-Telegram* sampling showed that probably half the clubs and organizations to which city employes and officials belong can be considered discriminatory.

Mayor Robert F. Wagner triggered the furor by announcing his resignation from the New York Athletic Club. The Mayor said he had heard "allegations" that the club practiced racial and religious discrimination.

Later, he said he would also quit any of the other 30 organizations in which he is a member if he decides they discriminate.

While observers questioned the necessity for public officials to account for their private club activities, a ludicrous aspect of the issue was brought out when this newspaper checked into the organizations to which city employes belong.

In the Police Department, for example, more than half of the 29 societies listed in the latest issue of the departmental magazine are intended for special groups —such as Catholics, Protestants, Jews, Negroes, veterans of the armed services and persons of some particular national origin.

Among these groups are two chapters of the Holy Name Society, three of the American Legion, and one each of the St. George Society (for Protestants), the Regina Coeli Society (for Catholic policewomen), the Anchor Club (for cops who belong to the Knights of Columbus), the Shomrim Society (for Jews), the Columbia Society (for those of Italian ancestry), the Emerald Society (for those of Irish ancestry), the Guardians Association (for Negroes), the Hispanic Society, the Pulaski Society, the Square Club (for Masons) and the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

Virtually every other major city department has comparable organizations appealing to limited groups.

A classic example of a group of limited appeal is the Women's Christian Temperance Union, which bars certain persons by each of the first three words in its title.

WHEN MAYOR WAGNER announced through a spokesman that he would take "appropriate action" —obviously meaning resignation—in connection with any of his 30 groups which practiced discrimination, observers said the Mayor's statement brought into focus a brand new question—whether public officials would have to apply the same anti-bias tests to their private clubs as they do to public agencies.

Some members of the Mayor's own family have refused to go along with him. They contend that the matter of what club a man belongs to or what friends he associates with is comparable to the question of what persons he invites to his home—presumably a private affair.

While many clubs are aimed at specialized groups, some make a point of the fact that they do not exclude others.

Among them is the Improved Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks of the World—generally thought of as a Negro organization.

"We exclude no one on the basis of race, religion or color," said Donald Duesberry, financial secretary of the order's Imperial Lodge, 160 West 129th Street. "We never have. Our lodge is 55 years old and there have never been any restrictive clauses.

"We have Negro, white, Chinese and Filipino members. Some of our most active members are Chinese. Whites attend our meetings regularly."

The white Elks group, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, bars Negro members. Mayor Wagner belongs to this group.

"We even had to go to court, after the white Elks brought suits against us, to use the name," said Mr. Duesberry. "We finally won out in the courts."

A Negro jurist who asked that his name be withheld made this comment to the *World-Telegram:*

"I think the Mayor's action is a little belated. It has a political connotation, coming at this time. But if the Mayor's decision helps any to remove the ugliness of racial discrimination, then fine."

As for the Mayor's current review of the policies of his other groups, the jurist said:

"He may find that he will have to drop out of nearly all the clubs he belongs to."

The Mayor and His Clubs

From the New York Daily News

Mayor Robert F. Wagner quit the New York Athletic Club because it excludes Negroes and Jews. Now it turns out that the Elks' lodge, in which Mr. Wagner is prominent, is an all-white fraternity, so what to do, what to do?

Word from City Hall is that His Honor is reviewing the policies of all the 30-some social organizations he belongs to, and will "take appropriate action."

If you ask us, Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller has the right answer in all such cases. "Appropriate action," says the Rock, consists in just sticking with any group whose bylaws gripe you in some respects, and trying from within to remold it closer to your heart's desire.

Blackball any such organization, and after a while you may find yourself with nothing to do in your hours of ease but play solitaire. How that can advance the cause of nondiscrimination or any other cause, we can't make out.

Hoover Credited

Anti-Semitism might have grown to fearsome proportions during the trials of the Communist spies but for the activity of J. Edgar Hoover, said Rabbi Joshua L. Goldberg, Chaplain Corps, USN (Ret.), in an address to the American Jewish League Against Communism. From the first, the FBI Chief was a vigorous critic of the Hitler-idea that the words "Jews" and "Communists" are synonymous. The occasion of the remarks was the testimonial dinner February 13 to columnist George Sokolsky.

HOOVER

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No Rebuttal on Television

By ROBERT U. BROWN in Editor and Publisher

SHORTLY AFTER CBS' treatment of "Death in the City Room,"* NBC gave time to "The Battle of Newburgh," which was about the controversial public welfare program in that city.

Both of them were supposed to be documentaries but in the eyes of many newspapermen they were mostly editorial, they expounded a point of view, many important factors were ignored.

C. E. Carpenter, editor of the Rochester (N. Y.) *Democrat and Chronicle*, asks the pertinent question: "When television involves itself in controversy, what means of reply—comparable to a newspaper's letters to the editor—can it offer an aggrieved party?"

The answer, of course, is "none."

Supposing some prominent member of the newspaper business wanted to reply to CBS' editorial insinuation that there is "a loss of influence of American papers," or some Los Angeles newspaperman wanted to add the pertinent facts about the competitive situation in that city which CBS omitted to mention? If they asked for equal time, would they get it? No! They wouldn't get *any* time for reply.

If some residents of Newburgh believed that the welfare situation there had not been accurately portrayed by NBC, would they be able to publicize their point of view to the same audience? Again the answer is "no."

Mr. Carpenter discussed the problem in this editorial February 2:

"Thousands of persons in this area, and perhaps millions across the nation, watched a television network documentary on Sunday night entitled 'The Battle of Newburgh.' Unfortunately what they could not know is that they were watching what in our judgment was a lopsided job . . . and thus, not for the first time, a grave question is raised about the television documentary:

"How can this powerful instrument be handled so that 'the other side' has a chance to reply? This is not a problem with newspapers or magazines; when readers take issue with news reports or editorials, they can reply in letters to the editor, an established and widely read part of those publications. But how does an aggrieved person 'rebut' a TV documentary? There is no way to do this and to reach the same massive audience.

"This unfair condition was made crystal clear for a member of this newspaper's staff on Sunday night when he watched 'The Battle of Newburgh' sitting beside a man he trusts, the conscientious editor of the Newburgh *Evening News*, Maurice Herbert.

"Herbert had looked forward eagerly to the program as a chance for the nation to know more of the story of Newburgh's controversial approach to public welfare.

"Here is his reaction, which we condense in topical phrases to capture the feeling:

"'Newburgh's face is blackened now before the nation . . . this was not a presentation of a great social problem; it was a visual editorial about that problem . . . it used the camera as an editorial writer uses his editorial space, to produce an opinion, and if a documentary is clearly labeled a personal opinion, or visual editorial, maybe it is all right . . . but this was little short of a hatchet job.

"'This documentary was guilty of the great sin of omission . . . there was nothing in it to show Newburgh's elaborate program to abolish slums . . . nothing to show the handsome sections of the little city, so the viewer is left with a taste of a slum town . . . nothing to convey, for example, the feelings of such a civic leader as a bank president who was interviewed and filmed for a solid hour by the TV team, which obviously dumped that footage . . . nothing to explain to the viewer that Newburgh's problem is unlike that of Rochester or Buffalo or other cities in that Newburgh is a welfare district in itself, and the growing county around it is a separate district, so Newburgh's problem in financing welfare costs is much more harsh than the average American city . . . and the emphasis on barroom debate of the welfare issue is hardly normal in Newburgh.'

"That was the hurt reaction of an editor who has lived with this problem. He is not opposed to documentaries; he enjoys them. Like any editor of conscience, he sees in documentaries a great ally of the press in reaching the greatest number of people with portrayals of problems which must be solved if our society is to remain strong. We share this feeling with him.

"But somewhere along the line, television will have to find a device or a technique to redress the balance, before the eyes of the same public, when a presentation is a lopsided and a bad job in the judgment of the people who should know. If such a technique is not found, the power of this medium under constant misuse will be frightening to contemplate."

It is interesting to note that Mr. Carpenter's editorial about an NBC program and our comment about a CBS program both appeared in print the same day and the words "hatchet job" occurred to us both.

Both documentaries were guilty of omitting important facets of the story, thus emphasizing the wrong things.

And, apparently both NBC and CBS writers and producers believe that a barroom is the place to pick up intelligent conversation about important problems.

*"Death in the City Room" claimed to be an objective report about the suspension of two daily newspapers in Los Angeles. Two vital facts were downplayed: (1) each of the two newspapers was losing $2 million a year, the implication being that newspapers must be continued, no matter how great the operating losses; and (2) there are still 17 vigorous suburban dailies in the Los Angeles area.

Newburgh's Answer on Tape

In personal interviews with scores of Newburghers, HUMAN EVENTS Assistant Editor Neil Phelps-Munson reports on what he found behind "The Battle of Newburgh" and the real effects of the welfare program. The documented results of this search are now available in a 40-minute tape recording, which should be heard by all Americans who have an interest in fair and impartial reporting.

It will provide a revealing feature for your organization meetings and it could be presented to civic and service groups in your community. Available for $8 ($1 refund when tape is returned). Order now from HUMAN EVENTS, 410 First Street, S.E., Washington 3, D.C.

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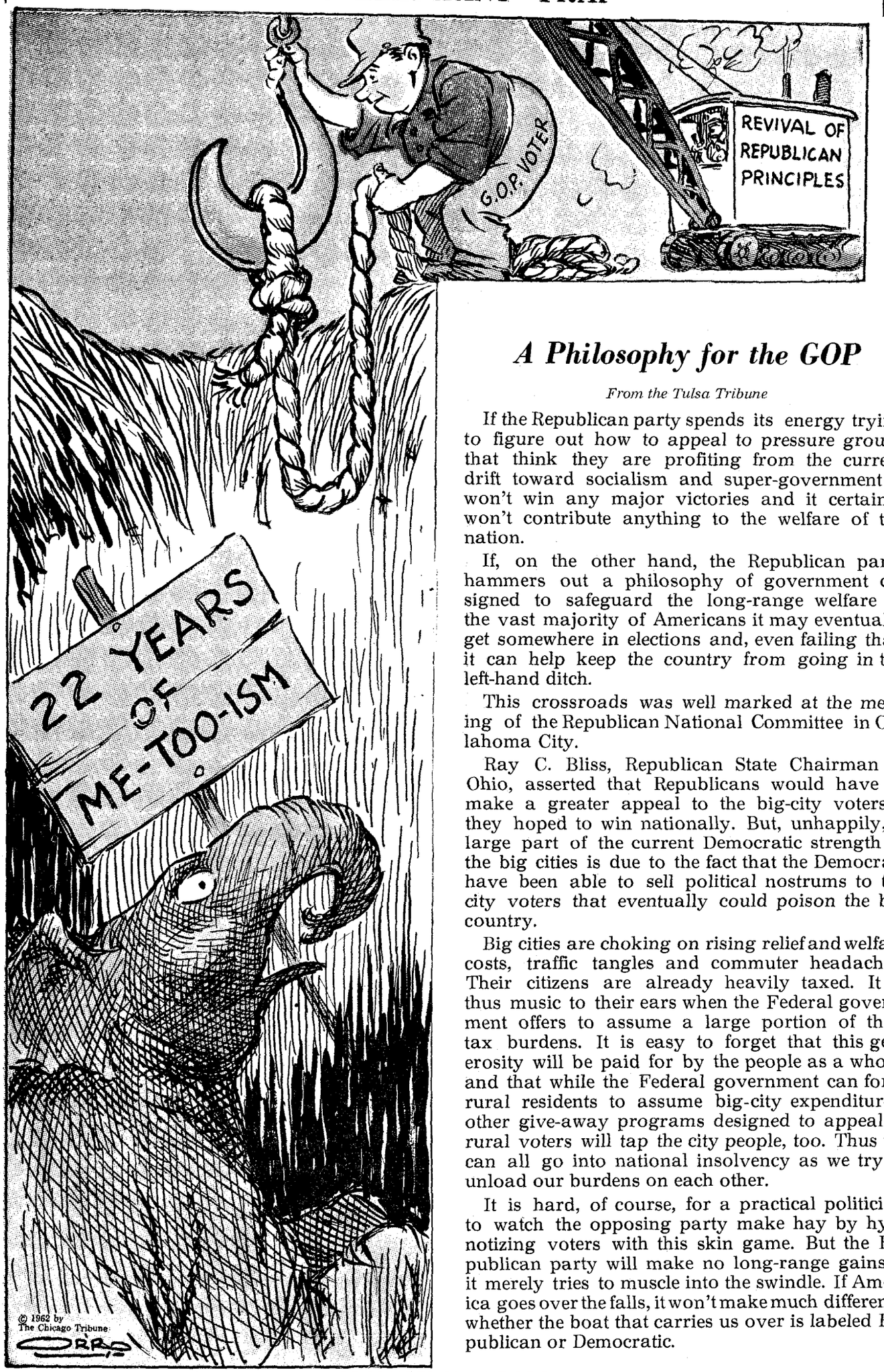

A Philosophy for the GOP

From the Tulsa Tribune

If the Republican party spends its energy trying to figure out how to appeal to pressure groups that think they are profiting from the current drift toward socialism and super-government it won't win any major victories and it certainly won't contribute anything to the welfare of the nation.

If, on the other hand, the Republican party hammers out a philosophy of government designed to safeguard the long-range welfare of the vast majority of Americans it may eventually get somewhere in elections and, even failing that, it can help keep the country from going in the left-hand ditch.

This crossroads was well marked at the meeting of the Republican National Committee in Oklahoma City.

Ray C. Bliss, Republican State Chairman of Ohio, asserted that Republicans would have to make a greater appeal to the big-city voters if they hoped to win nationally. But, unhappily, a large part of the current Democratic strength in the big cities is due to the fact that the Democrats have been able to sell political nostrums to the city voters that eventually could poison the big country.

Big cities are choking on rising relief and welfare costs, traffic tangles and commuter headaches. Their citizens are already heavily taxed. It is thus music to their ears when the Federal government offers to assume a large portion of their tax burdens. It is easy to forget that this generosity will be paid for by the people as a whole, and that while the Federal government can force rural residents to assume big-city expenditures, other give-away programs designed to appeal to rural voters will tap the city people, too. Thus we can all go into national insolvency as we try to unload our burdens on each other.

It is hard, of course, for a practical politician to watch the opposing party make hay by hypnotizing voters with this skin game. But the Republican party will make no long-range gains if it merely tries to muscle into the swindle. If America goes over the falls, it won't make much difference whether the boat that carries us over is labeled Republican or Democratic.

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